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the ginger at the foot of the ladder. If necessary, other herbs and ginger are always available to take the place of the abandoned ones. 846 515

At other places: the young mother goes to the river and takes a bath. Nothing is changed with reference to herbs and ginger, which she took along at the time of her ceremonial bath and which she continues to carry on her person afterwards. 783

With reference to the meaning of *mamáwa*: originally it may have been applied to any kind of ceremonial ablution; later on, it may have been restricted either to the bath of a woman after her delivery (Bayag), or to the ceremony performed after the death of a married woman (Abbil).

While the mother stays inside the house, the other inmates, men not excepted if necessary, take over her ordinary duties, such as fetching water, gathering vegetables, and so on. Bayag is the only place where the husband is forbidden to leave the house for a definite number of days, as has been explained before. 846

The husband does not sleep with his wife for from two to five months after the birth of a child; everything depends on the state of the mother and the strength of the baby. [833]

Should it happen that Christian Ilоko merchants from the lowlands come along to sell their wares, which usually consist of clothes, at the time there is a newborn babe in the house, the Isneg father will never fail to get a few strips of cloth as soon as his Ilоko friends open their packs, and to burn these rags under the nose of the little one. This ceremony is called *rumidméd*, and not to comply with it is said to be *kannáw* (bad, taboo). Such burning of cloth for magical and similar purposes is an almost universal custom all over northern Luzon. The Kankanay burn a piece of cloth and throw it outside through the door, at the same time mumbling a prayer, whenever one of their children is addicted to continual crying. The Ilоko (Christians) burn cotton or rags not only at the birth of a child, but whenever somebody is sick in the house: they say that the smoke strengthens the breathing of mother and child or of the sick person, as the case may be. When bringing the little one to church for baptism, one of the attending group usually has a burning sliver of cotton in the hand and constantly keeps it as near as possible to the infant that has to be christened, at least if the priest does not object. If they know him to forbid such practices, they try to hide their diminutive torch in time before his coming, somewhere outside the building: the very offensive smell, however, rarely fails to betray them. 852 789 171

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Isneg expressions referring to names and worthy of notice are the following:

kalōbazán: a name that has the same ending as another one. *Magkalóbān*: to bear each a name with the same ending. For instance: *Balás, Kolás; Éba, Xawwá; Basán, Dawwán; Antóniyo, Asiyo*, etc.

isáń and *ébăy*: familiar diminutive names for girls in general. Similar names are: in Iloko, *ínińi*; in Ibanag, *néne-* (probably from the Spanish *nene*, "baby, whether boy or girl").

Nicknames, as applied to one particular person, are used very sparingly among the Isneg. I know of only one case: a Lettuakan boy, called *Asiyo* and baptized Pedro, is very generally called *Paláli* even by his own relatives. *Paláli* is the name of a tree, and also of its fruits, which are edible, but very sour.

The Isneg are not very good genealogists. It very often happens that a young man or an adult girl does not even know the name of one or more of their grandparents, especially if the latter died before their grandchild was born. When asked about such names, the Isneg who happens not to know them usually excuses his ignorance by saying: "*Akkáńko nasińán* (I did not see him or her)".

II. Education

It might be thought at first sight that the Isneg leads a very unhappy and miserable life, a life full of drudgery, a life devoid of all comforts and possessing only a minimum of pleasure. But when you come to consider him more intimately, to enter more deeply into the matter, it does not take long for you to be convinced of the contrary. Indeed, he has very few needs; it is comparatively easy, to quote Jerome K. Jerome in "Three Men in a Boat", for an Isneg "to have enough to eat and enough to wear, and a little more than enough to drink", and he has little work to do. Besides, look at the fine family life he is living: if he has a good diligent wife, and most Isneg women are like that, and plenty of children around, really his bliss exceeds all understanding, I mean the understanding of a Caucasian with his manifold cares and innumerable wants.

Again at first sight, it might seem that the children's education is reduced to the very minimum, or rather that the youngsters get no education at all, as everybody, not excepting the children, seems to shift for himself and to do as he pleases. One would be the more inclined to think so when comparing the Isneg with other primitive

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peoples, who have regular initiation ceremonies or puberty rites or both: in his case these are entirely absent, and so his offspring lacks a very important factor in the education of the young, as all formal instruction that usually accompanies such rites and ceremonies is entirely denied him. Nevertheless there is some kind of education given to Isneg youth, and this I am going to consider presently.

At the beginning it should be noted once for all that the Isneg is not used to divide his life into very definite periods. Possessing no puberty rites of any kind, he is ignorant of any violent transition between any two periods of his earthly existence, and so an Isneg child grows up into a young man (*bagbaxó*, plural *babbáxo*) or a young girl (*balbalásaṅ*, plural *babbalásaṅ*), marries at the first opportunity, is occasionally widowed (*bálo*, *búkud*) and perhaps remarries, and finally dies, whether comparatively young or after having reached a ripe old age (old man: *la-lakȳ*, plural *lala-lákāy*; old woman: *ba-bakát*, plural *baba-bákat*). If one would insist on looking for a kind of classification, perhaps the best way would be to divide the life of an ordinary Isneg into three periods: the first one, from his birth till he has attained the age at which any decent boy begins to wear a G-string, a little before the age of reason; the second, from the time of that important change in his dress till his marriage; and the last one, from his first marriage till his death. Here I shall consider only the first two periods, and I shall treat them both simultaneously and indistinctively. That some details refer exclusively to one of these two periods will be clear without the necessity of saying so: an Isneg evidently does not teach one of his marriageable girls the name of the mosquito, nor does he point out to a boy three years old the penalties which he is likely to incur if he renders a girl pregnant and refuses to marry her.

Formal education as we understand it, whether in schools or otherwise, through appointed teachers, is totally unknown to the Isneg, except of course instruction in Government public schools, which all Isneg children are compelled to attend; but the generality of the people are not the least convinced of the benefits, and much less of the necessity, of the sort of education they get there, especially with reference to girls.

I shall try now to trace as faithfully and as clearly as possible the process of education as followed by the Isneg, or, if such an expression seems to be too definite, the way in which Isneg boys and girls get the education they need.

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593 when he called out: " Here he is, now take a look at him ". At this juncture I do not know whether the wonder and astonishment that could be read all over the woman's face was any greater than the joy that radiated from old *Balúkat*'s eyes at having been able to give so much satisfaction to his wife. The first period of bewilderment and surprise being over, Mrs. *Balúkat* put down her basket, and both husband and wife started distributing fruits and vegetables to the whole company, putting aside the best part for the object of the old girl's wonderment. I am sorry not to be able after this lapse of time to write down the exact conversation that went on between the two; but I remember most distinctly that the whole trend of the dialogue showed clearly and patently how grateful the old woman was toward her husband for having granted her an entertainment which in her eyes was more than splendid, and how pleased the old man was for having been able to bring about the meeting in question.

852 After the birth of the first child, the young married couple *magpísi-*, which means that they prepare a certain amount of native sweets or cakes, called *písi-* on this occasion, and bring them to the parents of the husband. They themselves, however, are not allowed to eat any of them. The purpose of the *písi-* ceremony is to cause the child to grow up quickly and to protect it against sickness.

776 Besides *Sisína*, who is invoked at the time of the *amómăn*, in case
593 the latter happens while a *săy-ám* sacrifice is in progress, there is another female spirit, called *Si-rápan*, who is supposed to have some influence on the relations between husband and wife. *Si-rápan* cleans their mind, as the Isneg put it, which means that she helps them to understand one another well and to be free from jealousy, quarrelsomeness and so on, provided their habits are to her liking. Married people who are displeasing to *Si-rápan* " are not taken care of by her and come to grief ".

2. *Property and Inheritance*

421 Husband and wife retain each their own property, whether movable or immovable (fields and so on), separately, and whatever they obtain, either by inheritance from their respective parents or other relatives, or through their own personal exertions, remains their own exclusively. The husband has no more right to his wife's belongings than the latter has to her husband's. Just to give an example: no man can sell his wife's *ikó* knife, nor any woman her husband's headax.